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JOHN MARTIN BOLTZIUS' TRIP TO CHARLESTON, OCTOBER 1742

GEORGE FENWICK JONES *

When Henry Melchior Mühlenberg was chosen to organize a Lutheran church in Philadelphia, his superiors in Europe thought it wise for him to visit Ebenezer in Georgia to learn about the new country from Pastor John Martin Boltzius, who had suffered eight years of hardship and sickness in Georgia before leading his little flock to a state of relative prosperity. Boltzius was then asked to accompany the newcomer to Philadelphia to help him adapt himself to American life. As was usually the case in the eighteenth century, Mühlenberg's arrival was much delayed: he did not reach Ebenezer until October, too late for Boltzius to journey to Pennsylvania and return before the Delaware River froze. Besides that his assistant, Israel Christian Gronau, was frail and in ill health, and Boltzius' wife and two children were sickly; so it is doubtful whether he really planned to go, even if he put the decision in God's hands. Mühlenberg also related the trip from Ebenezer to Charleston in his Journal, but devoted only two pages to it.¹ Boltzius' account is taken from the *Ausführliche Nachricht*,² the much bowdlerized edition of Boltzius' reports and letters published currently by Samuel Urlsperger, the Senior of the Lutheran Ministry at Augsburg and one of the three "Reverend Fathers" of the Georgia Salzburgers.

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¹ *The Journals of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg*, trans. by Theodore G. Tappert and John Doberstein, Vol. I (Philadelphia, 1942), pp. 62-63.

² *Elfte Continuation der Ausführlichen Nachrichten von den Saltzburgerischen Emigranten*, etc., ed. Samuel Urlsperger (Halle, 1745), pp. 2071-90.

TUESDAY, THE 12TH OF OCTOBER

Since several Christian friends thought it good for me to travel to Pennsylvania with Pastor Mühlenberg, the journey began last night at eight o'clock after we had prepared ourselves for it with prayer and the word of God. We were accompanied to the boat by almost all the people from the town with many tears and with many wishes for God's blessings. Although parting caused sorrow, grace overcame the tenderness and frailty of human nature. At Mrs. Ernst's³ plantation Theobald Kieffer⁴ boarded our boat to bring us to Charleston as a pious and experienced helmsman. We landed at Purrysburg because the current was against us:⁵ we rested until three o'clock and prepared ourselves for our journey with prayer, and we arrived at Savannah at ten o'clock in the morning strengthened in body and soul. Here I was still able to meet Captain Grand,⁶ who was about to leave for Frederica; and from him I received good advice and a note of recommendation to a pious merchant in Charlestown who will furnish me with good and inexpensive wares for the congregation and especially a good passage for Philadelphia. With this Captain Grand I sent two letters to Frederica, one to General Oglethorpe and the other to Mr. Jones,⁷ in which I gave him news of the important journey I was undertaking according to the will of God and commended the journey to the providential care of God and me and my congregation to their continued affection. Pastor Mühlenberg also had me write a letter to the captain of the ship with whom he had crossed the sea; and in it he thanked him for his kindness and paid him for a few items and reminded him of the spiritual conversations they had had together and of his resolutions.

In Savannah Pastor Mühlenberg was to get money from Colonel Stephens⁸ for a bill of exchange he had received from Mr.

³ Maria Ernst was the widow of Joseph Ernst, a Bavarian distiller who arrived with the third Salzburger transport.

⁴ Theobald Kieffer, Jr., whose father brought his family to Purrysburg in 1732 and was of great help to the Salzburgers.

⁵ Purrysburg was purposely built at the highest point reached by the flood tide, thereby making it possible to go either way with the current, except when the river was unusually high.

⁶ The name is surely Grant.

⁷ Thomas Jones, successor of Thomas Causton as keeper of the storehouse in Savannah and therefore one of the most influential inhabitants.

⁸ William Stephens, Chief representative of the Trustees and President of the council.

Verelst⁹ as his salary and as travel expenses from here to Philadelphia. However, there was a lack of cash money, so we will take the bill of exchange to Charleston and spend it for inexpensive goods for our orphanage and congregation. From them my dear colleague Mr. Gronau will collect our and the schoolmaster's salaries. Our actual salary will be received in Philadelphia from the bill of exchange and given to Pastor Mühlenberg as his salary; and thus we will make an exchange to our mutual advantage. For in this way he will receive the kind of money that is common currency there; and with a sure bill of exchange we can buy inexpensive goods in Charleston for our congregation and accomplish more than with sola bills,¹⁰ as we learned last year when goods were fetched from Charleston for the congregation. After I had arranged my travel business during the day and had somewhat tired myself, we refreshed ourselves from the pithy and forceful 23rd Psalm at a prayer meeting that Pastor Mühlenberg held and for which many German people gathered. Our hearts are flowing together through the grace of God; and the Lord is showing us much kindness from His word, through prayer, and in our simple Christian conversations.

WEDNESDAY, THE 13TH OF OCTOBER

To be sure, we departed from here this morning in God's name; but, because the wind was strong against us and it was very dangerous to pass the sound at the mouth of the Savannah River, we had to return to Savannah towards noon. I finished today what I had not been able to finish discussing with Colonel Stephens yesterday. This evening I held a prayer meeting with the German people about the 1st Psalm and told them that our marvelous God had probably brought us back on the boat so that the word of salvation could be preached to them again and that all blessings and bliss in Jesus Christ might be inculcated in their hearts. He would surely be an unfortunate man who would now reject the proffered blessing and the benefit that stands at the very beginning of this psalm; some day he would not hear the words, 'Come, ye blessed of my Father,' etc. but would have to hear a dreadful thunder-word, "Go ye hence from me," etc.

⁹ Harman Verelst, accountant to the Trustees.

¹⁰ Paper currency issued by the Trustees.

God granted much joy to the sermon; and I believe they were all able to learn from this psalm how blessed the righteous are but how miserable the godless are in time and eternity. The words found in the text described for them the nature of both the godless and the righteous and also their fates. Such farewell speeches often make a great impression, as I have experienced not only last Sunday and Monday in Ebenezer but also here. Here I found a German man kneeling in the open air, a man of whom I had formerly not expected much good. After yesterday's prayer meeting I walked past a Dutchman's¹¹ house and heard that he had earnestly repeated to his wife the words he had heard; and today he sent his two children to ask eagerly whether a prayer meeting would be held today. It is my intention to make use of a psalm every day with my travelling companions with simple meditation, prayer, and conversation. May the Lord deign to bless this abundantly in all of us, as He has done from the beginning. Before going to sleep we got into a very edifying conversation with our helmsman Kieffer, from which Pastor Mühlenberg could recognize the great grace God has recently shown this Kieffer, his wife, his parents-in-law, and others who had formerly been mired down either in sin or in selfrighteousness.¹² My heart was aroused to great joy and praise of God through the testimonies of the grace of God that this Kieffer bore.

THURSDAY, THE 14TH OF OCTOBER

This morning we edified ourselves communally from the 2nd Psalm; and we compared Hebrews 12:13 in order to understand better and profit from the first words about the oral and physical contradiction against the office and holy person of Christ: "For consider him that endureth," etc.¹³ That He must still suffer opposition from His servants and children we learned from Acts 4, in which the faithful entered into their prayer all that which they had encountered in the world according to the content of this psalm

¹¹ Boltzius says *Holländer*. In colonial days the word *Dutch*, as in "Pennsylvania Dutch," always referred to "High Dutch" or German. It is surprising that this Dutchman attended the High German services.

¹² *eigene Gerechtigkeit*. In Pietistic parlance this meant the false belief that one can achieve salvation on one's own merits by good behavior rather than only through the grace of our reconciled God.

¹³ To understand this passage, one must remember that Boltzius used the Old Testament chiefly as a prefiguration of the New. Anything said about David anticipated something said in the New Testament about Jesus, as is proved by the echo of the 2nd Psalm in Hebrews 12:13.

and thereby kissed their great King and Savior and actively experienced the end of the psalm both during and after the prayer. "Blessed are all they that put their trust in Him."

FRIDAY, THE 15TH OF OCTOBER

Yesterday a sloop from New York arrived here bearing rather inexpensive flour. A young man was aboard who had been captured by the Spaniards at Frederica and had been taken to Havannah and finally to Spain and was now going back to Frederica. After the cartel had been established between England and Spain¹⁴ he had been set across the river on the boundary of Portugal with his fellow captives, of which there were many of all nations, even Greeks. From there the English merchants brought them here and there to English ships, on which they could return to their homes. To be sure, the English prisoners were bad off with regard to food and clothing and were closely guarded; but they suffered no other harm except that the priests wished to persuade them to accept the Popish religion. The king of Spain allowed them threepence Sterling daily for their subsistence, on which they could not have lived if the English crown had not added sixpence. He said there was much talk in New York of peace between England and Spain, for which the king of France will be mediator.

Today was a stormy and rainy day; and we thanked God that He is letting us enjoy such good care and treatment in Savannah. Before evening I spoke again with Colonel Stephens. I was told that, if God had not prevented it, General Oglethorpe could easily have suffered a great misfortune on his sloop on which he had sailed to reconnoiter the area of St. Augustine. One of his own cannons had burst and had blown off the helmsman's foot; and a piece of the mast struck the general on the head so that blood flowed from his ears and nose. He suffered no more harm, however, but pulled himself together and inspired his worried people with courage. He would have won a great prize from the Spaniards if his warship had not left him in the lurch.

¹⁴ This seems to have been the same cartel in which the family of John Adam Treutlin, the first patriot governor of Georgia, was exchanged.

SATURDAY, THE 16TH OF OCTOBER

Most of the German people had already gathered yesterday evening for the prayer meeting; but, because the weather had become favorable for our departure, we went aboard our boat and sailed toward the dangerous Savannah Sound with prayer, song, and good conversation, which especially concerned the Kingdom of God in Germany. This time God also let us succeed in passing over it safely at midnight without great difficulty and danger; and then we waited in the river for a new tide. Afterwards a strong contrary wind arose, which would not have allowed us to cross the sound if we had not already gotten across it. Here two large rivers, one from Savannah and the other from Port Royal, fall into the sea; and, because the water from the sea flows back every twelve hours, various dangerous sandbanks form in this sound, except that there are also oyster banks here and there. If a boat runs aground on them with falling water or ebb tide, it must remain sitting until the flood; and, because sudden winds often arise, the danger is great and many have already lost their lives here. If there were money and workers here, they could cut through a little shore with very little cost and make a passage so that one could avoid the sound and pass very quickly and easily from the Savannah River into the other. This has been done in Carolina by Negroes in two places, and this has been very advantageous.

As soon as you have passed the sound, you reach a pointed forest on an island [Daufuskie] belonging to Port Royal, which is called Bloody Point because the Spanish Indians massacred a large boat full of white people some time ago. There are several plantations here, also wild horses and cattle. Here and there on this island, as on some others, there are deep ditches in which there is always rainwater that the horses and cattle drink: otherwise they would die, since there is only seawater in the river. They catch the wild horses with mortal danger and domesticate them with effort. Because they eat nothing but grass, they are short of breath when running and are gradually tired out by the rider with his domesticated horse and made very dizzy; and then one pulls a noose around their necks so tightly that they become powerless and can be led home easily.

SUNDAY, THE 17TH OF OCTOBER

Because the northwind was against us violently yesterday, we could go no further than into the region of Port Royal Sound. This is two hours long and has, to be sure, not so many sand and oyster banks as the former; but it too is dangerous with a strong contrary wind. It was evening, so we stopped at the plantation of an Englishman whom we knew and who received us in a most friendly manner and gave us not only good quarters but also an opportunity to edify ourselves all Sunday with singing, prayer, and the contemplation of the divine word. Yesterday in this warm room we prepared ourselves for Sunday by contemplating the 5th Psalm and praying, and in this the Englishman and his wife gave us company.

Today, Sunday, a couple of Englishmen came to this house on horseback just at the time that Pastor Mühlenberg was reading something for our edification from the Gospel of Matthew 22:34. However, they did not disturb us but soon rode quietly away from us. We were invited here as luncheon guests, since the wife's brother, a soldier from Fort Venture on the Altamaha River, was dining too. He made great efforts not to curse according to the custom of this land. However, because he misused God's name during the conversation and it was unfitting for us to chastise him in public, I later put into the mouths of his two sisters what they should say to him in a kindly way according to the content of the second commandment.¹⁵ Among other things we spoke with the host about the great responsibility he was assuming because of his Negroes, since he was not leading them to the Christian faith. He made the usual excuses, such as they were created only for slavery, would not and could not comprehend anything, would only become more wicked because of it, etc., all of which we refuted for him from our experience. He also cited the verse "To him who hath, shall it be given," etc. Now, because little has been given to the Negroes, little will be demanded of them. However, I applied to him the verse¹⁶ that the Negroes have given much to him, as their master, and therefore more responsibility lay upon him.

¹⁵ The Germans, both Catholic and Protestant, join the first two commandments and separate the last one, thus numbering the intervening ones differently from the Jews and English. This commandment is, of course, "Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain."

¹⁶ It is surprising that Boltzius uses the word *Spruch* in this context, since this is neither a Bible verse nor a proverb.

We edified ourselves with singing, prayer, and contemplation of the beautiful Sunday epistle 1 Corinthians 1:4 until evening; and, because the wind calmed down, we sailed on in God's name. We praised God for having given us a sign through the contrary stormlike wind, as if through a column of cloud and fire, to rest on the Sabbath and to edify ourselves in this house. During the epistle I told my travelling companions what a blessing it was for them that they could be constantly edified from God's word on their journey just as at home. Out of the heart of God the entire wealth of His grace was inculcated in their hearts; and I showed them that even if they, like the Corinthians, had been mired in the most wicked sinfulness, they would still be able to come in divine order to grace and to a certainty of a state of grace. There had not yet been any frost even at night, and therefore the sweet-potatoe vines were still completely green and the sweet potatoes were still growing; whereas we had already had severe frost two weeks ago.

MONDAY, THE 18TH OF OCTOBER

Last night, to be sure, we crossed the great Port Royal Sound with calm and serene weather; but, because the ebb tide was against us in the river, we had to spend the night on our boat in a place where there is much mud and seagrass (which they call *mash* here).¹⁷ It was bitterly cold, and we used all the clothes and blankets we had with us to protect ourselves from the cold. God helped us with a good tide at eight o'clock in the morning to Beaufort. (This is the name of the capital of Port Royal Island.)

We stopped at the first tavern in order to have something warm cooked for us. The hosts were just getting out of bed because yesterday, Sunday, they had had guests and merry company until late at night. Well dressed Englishmen entered and carried on worse than the Indians and Negroes when they are drunk; and, because things went very very slowly with our coffee and we did not wish rum in place of it, we went to a German shoemaker whom we knew and who received us gladly, made coffee, and supplied us with bread and gave us a half a roasted turkey for our trip.¹⁸ Our provisions had been pretty well consumed, and therefore we would

¹⁷ Boltzcius, or his editor, has omitted a verb. His spelling *mash* shows that the Carolinians already dropped the consonant sound of the letter *r*, which served only to broaden the preceding *a*. He seems to have thought the word "marsh" designated the grass rather than the grass-covered lowlands.

¹⁸ *einen halben gebratenen Welschen oder Calcutischen Waldhahn.*

have gladly bought more here; but there was even less to be had here than in Savannah, and what we bought here was very expensive. The local preacher, Mr. Jones,¹⁹ had treated Pastor Mühlenberg very kindly during his previous stop and had requested to see me again too sometime; but the tide was with us and we had to hurry to our boat. I hope to speak to him on my return. If God gives us good wind, water, and weather, we cannot let go of this nod to proceed at once.

This city of Beaufort is very well situated but still badly built, even if better than Savannah. We continued with our contemplation of the 6th Psalm with prayer and song; and by three o'clock with good weather we reached a narrow and shallow creek, on the side of which there is a high and seldom flooded oystershell bank where we could cook something for our noonday meal. Our people had bought some inexpensive bisquits or hardtack and beer in Savannah from the New York sloop, which served them in good stead because they had been unable to get anything for money in Beaufort or other places.

Here we found a boat with three Englishmen and a Negro, who had travelled quite a way from their plantation in order to fish. A man whom I knew had taken sick from oysters, and Pastor Mühlenberg gave him some medication. They sailed home at high tide and left our people a pile of sweet potatoes and wood for fire. In return they gave them fresh water because theirs was all gone. Here one must take fresh water along everywhere because there is only salt water in the rivers. On the plantations, most of which are very remote, there are small wells, or just ditches, in which fresh water rises; but it is not nearly so good as ours is in Ebenezer, even if better than in Charleston.

At seven o'clock in the evening we came through nothing but crooked creeks to a high bluff where we could prepare something warm for supper. We boiled some coffee communally and ate bread and butter, also cold things,²⁰ and sweet potatoes. With God's blessings we all enjoyed constant good health. Prayer and good conversation were the nourishment for our souls; and they were

¹⁹ Lewis Jones, chaplain to the Independent Company at Port Royal, had come to South Carolina in 1725 and died in 1745. See Frederick Dalcho, *An Historical Account of the Protestant Episcopal Church in South Carolina* (Charleston, 1820), p. 433.

²⁰ kalte Küche.

aided by the Second Continuation of the Ebenezer Reports, which Pastor Mühlenberg had with him and read from.²¹ Also, the last hours of some of the Salzburgers were also blessed in us.²²

TUESDAY, THE 19TH OF OCTOBER

Last night we covered a great distance with very serene and calm weather. Anyone who knows the way well, as our helmsman, the young Kieffer does, arranges his trip in such a way that he can enter the creeks and rivers with the ebb and flood. Then there is ebb tide in one region and flood tide in the other; and this furthers the journey if one makes use of the night.²³ The Englishmen in Charleston and on the plantations have performed a good work in cutting through a piece of land between the marshes, otherwise one would have to pass through even more of the sound. The one channel is called Walch-Cut and is a quarter of an English mile long, and the other, New Cut,²⁴ is a whole mile long and mostly perfectly straight. It surely cost a lot of work, but it is of great value.

WEDNESDAY, THE 20TH OF OCTOBER

This morning, God be praised, we came so far that we could see a tower in Charleston. In a place where we had to wait a half hour for high water we met a sloop headed for Savannah, on which was Surveyor-General Avery, who had returned from London and was now hurrying to Savannah and Frederica with good instruc-

²¹ The second continuation of the *Ausführliche Nachrichten* covered the year 1736 and was published in 1739. See note 2.

²² The *Ausführliche Nachrichten*, which were published in part for inspirational purpose, emphasized the happy deaths of the Salzburgers, who almost invariably died like little worms in the wounds of Jesus, aware that they would win salvation not on their own merits but only by the grace of Jesus, who died for our sins.

²³ Boltzius is trying to explain how boatmen utilized the tides before the days of powerboats. They went downstream on the ebb, lying by or going ashore for the six hours of the flood. Upon reaching the mouth of the next river, they would ascend it with the flood, cross through the marsh at high tide to the next river, and then let the ebb carry them down to the mouth of the next river. This made the trip much longer, but it was always with the current.

²⁴ New Cut, still used on the Inland Waterway, joins the Stono and Wadmalaw Rivers. I wish to thank David Moltke-Hansen for identifying this and several other names in this journal. Walch-Cut may refer to Watts Cut on the route connecting the North and South Edisto Rivers.

tions for the benefit of the colony.²⁵ He confirmed that Colonel Stephens' son had been very badly received with his complaints against the Lord Trustees and the constitution of the colony.²⁶

As soon as the water had risen a little and we had pushed off from the sloop, we received an excellent southwind that carried us without oars rapidly and forcefully against the current and brought us to Charleston by nine o'clock in the morning. Only twice on this trip did we have favorable wind for hoisting the sail; and both time I felt great encouragement to praise God because of His wisdom, kindness, and omnipotence, which revealed itself even in the *Spinat* on the voyage.²⁷

Here we stopped at the shop of a French baker, who had married a German woman and also had her sister there. We did not wish to lodge with our people at a public tavern because of the cost and disquiet. Ten months ago my dear colleague²⁸ had preached a sermon in this house concerning the verse "Look unto me, and be ye saved," etc. As the host told me, Englishmen and Frenchmen had also come, because they are fond of our songs and melodies. During the meal the hostess said that old Mrs. Spielbiegler, who had left us last year with her son and had previously caused much strife and vexation all the time in Ebenezer, had died in very miserable circumstances. She had received a small injury to her foot, but this eventually developed into a cold fever with which she had to suffer great pain for a full three months. Her son recovered again and is surely still alive.

²⁵ Within the year Capt. Joseph Avery had laid out towns for the Palatine servants at Acton and Vernonburg near Savannah and had proposed that a large tract along the Ogeechee be reserved for the Salzburgers. Allen D. Chandler, ed., *The Colonial Records of the State of Georgia* (Atlanta, 1902), I, p. 440. He visited Ebenezer on August 24, 1743. *Ausführliche Nachrichten*, Twelfth Continuation, pp. 2234-37.

²⁶ Thomas Stephens scandalized the Trustees by siding with the Malcontents against his own father.

²⁷ This word, which means "spinach" in German, must be a typographical error; and it is not possible to ascertain what Boltzcius had actually written.

²⁸ Gronau had gone on a shopping trip to Charleston from 14 Nov. to 1 Dec. 1741. The *Ausführliche Nachrichten*, Tenth Continuation, pp. 1172-90, did not reveal which colleague had gone.

Foodstuffs are now very expensive here: a pound of fresh butter or English cheese is more than a shilling Sterling, a hundred pounds of flour is fourteen shillings, a gallon of wine five shillings, etc.; and the worst of all is that they have little regard for the sola bills or the currency of the Lord Trustees. Whoever wishes to buy something with them will lose much. To be sure, merchants accept bills of exchange; but they will not pay cash but only goods for them. It is good that we have brought a few guineas along, which we can spend without any undue loss. There is no opportunity here now to travel to Pennsylvania. A sloop from New York will return there in three or four weeks, and after that there is still a long way to Philadelphia.

THURSDAY, THE 21ST OF OCTOBER

There are now several German people from Purrysburg here, who have been very badly treated here by the local authorities.²⁹ They go in and out of our quarters; and, because we hold a prayer meeting in the morning and evening with our people, they join it too and pay close attention. This morning I was occupied in buying all sorts of things for our parishioners, which are to be sent back with our boat. Trade goods, especially if one buys them wholesale, are still rather cheap. Even if something is deducted to reduce the travel costs, they are still quite a bit cheaper than in Savannah, and thus a welcome service is being performed for our people.

There are auctions here almost every day, at which all sorts of merchandize is sold cheaply. Many merchants go bankrupt; and their creditors convert the things they leave behind, as best they can, to money. I happened to come to the house of an English schoolmaster who, with his wife, must instruct over a hundred boys and girls. Among other things he told me what great advantages Pennsylvania and Philadelphia, where he had been schoolmaster for nearly eight years, have over this land and this city and that one seldom heard that anyone there went bankrupt or that his goods were auctioned off after his death as happens here so often. For (he said) the people work more industriously and do

²⁹ Like the Swiss settlers at Purrysburg, Theobald Kieffer, Sr. and other Germans were cheated out of their land when Jean Purry paid his debts with the grants for the land that had already been distributed to the settlers. The same thing had previously happened to the Palatines on the Hudson and at New Bern.

not indulge in such luxury as is practiced here in clothes and other things. For that reason they incur no debts. He would not have come here if some schoolmasters had not worked for much too small a tuition and thus taken away his pupils.

There are several English and French schools here, but no German one; for the condition of the few Germans here is very lamentable. If they acquire some means, they try to equal the rest of the world here. One can hardly imagine how bad splendor and luxury are practiced here unless one sees it himself. The burned out part of the city is nearly completely reconstructed, and the building is still continuing vigorously. Also, in front of the city double pilings are being sunk and a thick wall is being laid from one corner to the other, partly so that the water will no longer inundate the shore and partly so that a sufficient number of cannons can be mounted on it.⁸⁰

FRIDAY, THE 22ND OF OCTOBER

Our boat must be sent back to Ebenezer this evening; and yesterday and today I have been occupied in loading it with all sorts of merchandize in the form of clothing, brown sugar, etc. for the congregation so that it will not return empty. Our people are hurrying home because food is expensive and everything costs much money. For, although we are lodged in a private house and have arranged everything most exactly, it still costs each of us one pound per day in local paper money, which is two shillings ten pence ha'penney Sterling, which would amount to a great deal in two or four weeks, especially since we have brought honest Kalcher with us with good intentions for the sake of God's kingdom. If I remain a few weeks in Charleston, then I must send the boat home in the meanwhile; but if we still do not find a passage, how would I get back to Ebenezer?

If no sloop sails to Pennsylvania or New York soon, there will be no return from Pennsylvania before spring because of the frozen water; and consequently I would miss a great deal in my own congregation and also incur debts. We have considered the matter carefully, and Mr. Mühlenberg is waiting for an old captain, who is at home in Pennsylvania and is now with good friends in Carolina or Beaufort. He is travelling to Philadelphia by horse.

⁸⁰ This was the origin of Charleston's Battery.

It may be possible for Mr. Mühlenberg to ride with him, even though the expenses and hardships might be very great. I believe that God has resolved to do everything alone in collecting and establishing his congregation and arranging his affairs and he can therefore easily do without my assistance. So far we have both had much spiritual refreshment, and our hearts are closely bound so that our meeting and our brief sojourn together in Ebenezer and on the journey has not been in vain. He was well composed at my departure towards evening, which occurred with prayer and supplication. God will continue to reveal His will.

SATURDAY, THE 23RD OF OCTOBER

Yesterday evening there arose a very favorable wind, with which our boat departed at about eight o'clock. It was so full and heavily laden that it could not possibly take me and Kalcher along, for we would all have had to risk our lives. Therefore I decided to send this laden boat on ahead and to look for an opportunity for Kalcher and me to go by land to Mr. Jonathan Bryan's plantation and from there to Purrysburg, and so we took leave of one another. They departed in the name of Jesus Christ, and I went with Pastor Mühlenberg and Kalcher to our quarters, where we had a refreshing prayer hour concerning the 10th Psalm. Last night the wind became so strong that I thanked God that I had remained behind, and I sighed to Him for the dear people who had departed.

A young German man of our confession offered to show me the way by land, and I am now making efforts to borrow a horse or to buy one at a fair price. One of the horses we bought at Mr. Bryan's plantation is there³¹ and Kalcher will be able to ride it back home, but from here he will go to said plantation by foot. The rice the sloops are to take back to New York and Pennsylvania is not ready yet, and otherwise there is nothing for them to load here. Therefore we must fear that the arrival of the sloops may be postponed even longer. Dear Mr. Mühlenberg is becoming even more careful with his expenditures. The painter, Mr. Theus,³² who previously housed my dear colleague, wishes to take him into his house, which he can do now that Mr. Mühlenberg is alone and has his own

³¹ Some of the cattle bought from Bryan's plantation had also returned home.

³² The Swiss painter Jeremiah Theus was the most prolific portraitist in colonial South Carolina.

bed. It will cost him very little there, and he will easily reach Pennsylvania with the money I left him in gold and copper. May God fulfill his and our requests and speed his journey.

Because I could not borrow a horse to ride home via Purrysburg or even via Palachocolas, I must resolve willy nilly to buy an inexpensive one. It happened that an otherwise rich planter, who is locked up here in jail, has a couple of brood mares for sale. I had my choice and paid three pounds ten shillings Sterling for a young and easy-gaited mare, which people at our place will gladly buy from me for the same price. I also had to buy a new saddle and bridle, which I bought very cheaply, namely, for seventeen shillings twopence Sterling, at the shop of a merchant I knew. A German man I know who does all sorts of work on the plantations and is going home from Charleston will show me and Kalcher the way. I long to get out of this sinful city. Anyone who has lived in London may have seen and heard some abominations; but here they have reached the highest peak. The Europeans commit dreadful excesses with the Negro girls, as a result of which one sees many half-white children running around. I was told that many leading gentlemen do not marry but commit their disgrace with such heathen folk, which, however, is considered little or no shame.

When evening and twilight come, not only do both sexes walk around together on the streets, but whites and Negroes of both sexes act most shamefully and make much noise late into the night. Although it is not yet nearly winter and the sun does not shine too brightly, the women folk, who consider themselves very elegant in their splendid clothes, walk around on the streets with black masks before their faces and on Sundays into church, all of which looks very ugly and right clearly presents their inner nature.³³ Some of the German people still conduct themselves respectably and within bounds, but the young girls imitate the world publicly; and everywhere there is blindness, prejudice,³⁴ wickedness, indifference, epicureanism, and atheism. As many as have wished to come to us have heard important truths from God's word, from the psalms of David, and from other biblical texts, and we have

³³ Boltzius does not make it clear to what black masks he is referring.

³⁴ By *Vorurtheil* Boltzius seems to have meant an unwillingness to accept the tenets of Pietism. One should note that "misery" (*Elend*) meant "sin" and that "honest" (*redlich*) meant "in accord with Boltzius' religious convictions."

also spoken privately with them about this and that. May God have mercy on this misery!

SUNDAY, THE 24TH OF OCTOBER

This morning we held a prayer meeting on the beginning of the 12th Psalm. The morning divine service was held from ten until eleven-thirty o'clock, and Pastor Mühlenberg preached a sermon on the regular gospel for the twenty-ninth Sunday after Trinity. In the afternoon the 12th Psalm served as a basis for our edification and in it the external condition of the church even in our times was excellently presented and both the true and the false church members were emphatically described. If I had not had to depart with our guide after four o'clock but had been able to hold the evening prayer hour on the 122th Psalm, I would have used today's epistle reading as a basis during our afternoon divine service. The said psalm served especially for my purpose.

I am now departing with Kalcher in God's name and leaving our dear Mr. Mühlenberg behind healthy and strengthened in God. It appears that God does not wish to use me in Philadelphia but to do everything through Mr. Mühlenberg. Who knows what task is waiting for me in Ebenezer? After the noon service I prepared myself further for my departure, which occurred at four o'clock with Kalcher, a boy from Purrysburg, and a German man who was our guide. After having been here and having seen and heard so much, our dear Ebenezer will again be right sweet and pleasant.

A short time ago I was visited by Mr. Jonathan Bryan, who was greatly displeased by all these abominations and believed that, if the Lord did not have a few left over who made themselves into a wall through prayer as in Lot's time, the judgments would soon come in plenty as in Sodom and Gomorrah. He and his brother had had a case before the court in which everything had gone against them; yet the Lord helped him through gloriously, even though it did cause him expense and effort. He is a very honest man, and it is very edifying to consort with him. He would have rented me a horse to take me to Ebenezer, but for various reasons it was better for me and my travelling companions to buy my own, and he was satisfied with this too. He gave me a letter of recommendation to his wife and assured me that she would receive me gladly.

My hosts seem to have been edified and dismissed me with great love. Mr. Mühlenberg accompanied us for a piece of the way,

whereupon we took leave of each other with cordial wishes. May God remain with him by water and by land and direct his way according to His gracious will. We continued our trip by moonlight. Here there is a beautiful high raised road, so broad that two wagons can pass each other and dry and straight everywhere like an avenue. Every mile is marked with a post. After going thirteen miles we came in the evening with much joy to a plantation, which is owned by a very understanding and honorable widow named Margaret Bellenchar.³⁵ She likes to give lodgings, and therefore she accepted us too with great love.

Before we arrived here we had to be carried over on a ferry, which lay ready so that we did not have to wait a minute. The river is called the Ashley, from which the ferry too has its name. One of the former proprietors of this land, Lord Ashley, gave this name to the river and also to the town, which is to be built here but still has a very poor appearance. We have permission to hold our prayer hour in this woman's parlor. We contemplated the 13th Psalm, which was next in our order, and prayed together. As I learned later, she would have liked to have us sing a German song; but I had a hoarse throat and no one could have sung with me but Kalcher. She is a great fancier of our melodies. She asked exactly about the school in the orphanage near Savannah because she was inclined to send her two youngest sons there.³⁶

MONDAY, THE 25TH OF OCTOBER

Because we had to ride a very long distance today to a good lodging, I sent my travelling companions on ahead. At eight o'clock I rode after them after again receiving much kindness at breakfast. A nobleman who had seen better days and had lost all his estates was staying here, and he showed me much kindness. He knew me and could tell the lady much good about our arrangements in Ebenezer, even if I did not recognize him right away. And thus I fared in many places. At two o'clock in the afternoon a strong wind arose as if it wished to tear down the trees in the forest, and then came a rain that lasted a couple of hours.

Before the rain we had reached a plantation where a German Reformed man was overseer over the Negroes. The man and his

³⁵ This may be Boltzius' German rendering of the Huguenot name Belinger.

³⁶ The school at Bethesda, Whitefield's orphanage near Savannah.

wife were very ignorant³⁷ and did not even know about the verse "But seek ye first the kingdom of God," etc. Neither of them can read; but by living with the Negroes they had become so accustomed to the swearing and cursing, which are the bane of the land, that they had to do themselves violence to refrain from it during my presence. His brother-in-law became blind during his job as Negro overseer; and, because she herself is sick, he had taken on her six-months-old child, which had not yet been baptized. They requested me to baptize it, which I did.

Among these Negroes things go very shamefully, they live together like cattle. A half white Negro wench cohabited with a white man and bore an entirely white child, and she had to suckle this newly baptized child. On this journey I have seen a fashionable woman let her tender child suck at her breast and at that of a Negro, and this greatly astonished me. At this plantation I would have liked to buy two quarts of corn from the German overseer for my horse; but he had no authority over it and directed me to the Negroes. One of them gave me some, but I had to give him a half crown of local paper currency for it, which amounts to almost five pence Sterling. In addition it was so dirty that the horse did not wish to eat it.

These Negroes, like many others, receive no clothes from their master but must work on Sunday too, and afterwards they turn their crops into money and buy themselves some old rags. How can God give His blessing to the fieldwork of these people who have no regard for His commandments in any way? Here one finds many examples of *Male parta male dilabuntur*,³⁸ as one sees and hears especially after their death. The highways are good almost throughout the country and are arranged as described previously, so that one can travel by day or night and not get lost. It is also very safe on the roads, and one hears nothing of robbery and murder. In the inns everything is very expensive. I bought a bottle of red wine for two shillings and one pence ha'penny, one pound of cheese for thirteen pence, and one pound of bisquits for four pence ha'penny.

³⁷ Whenever Boltzius said "ignorant" (*unwissend*), he usually meant "not well versed in Pietistic dogma."

³⁸ "Things that start out badly usually end up badly." Boltzius is referring to the godless planters, not to the slaves.



This map, based on an English original drawn at the time of Boltzius' journey, was published in Samuel Urlsperger's *Ausführliche Nachricht, 13th Continuation, Part I* (Halls, 1747). This copy was kindly supplied by the University of Georgia Library.

After the rain had passed, we continued our journey and came at seven o'clock to the house of Colonel Bee,³⁹ who received me and my two companions (for the guide had left us) with great kindness. He sang, read, and prayed with his family on their knees; yet he was no friend of Mr. Whitefield and Mr. Wesley, and he could tell us that the best preacher in Charleston had proclaimed in print that Mr. Whitefield had taken sides with the Herrenhuters.⁴⁰ I was surprised that his Negroes behaved so well and I am sure that, by the grace of God, they could be brought not only to humanity and respectability but also to Christianity, if only the Masters themselves were Christian.

This gentleman still had much old and even more new rice that he wished to dispose of. Wheat and corn are said to have flourished very well in England and therefore rice will not count for much this year. During the night it became very cold; and it was a great benefaction that we were in a good inn and at night in good beds, for our blankets had been sent ahead with the boat since we could not drag them around with us. They have had frost much earlier than on the plantations by the sea.

TUESDAY, THE 26TH OF OCTOBER

Because we had a long stretch of thirty-two miles ahead of us today, my travelling companions started on the way already before dawn, but I remained behind in the house until it became somewhat warmer and I had eaten and drunk something warm. Before I could reach my companions, I met the said Mr. Jonathan Bryan on the way, who had ridden from Charleston yesterday evening and was now hurrying home. In him I had a good travelling companion and guide to his house, where I had decided to spend the coming night with Kalcher; and therefore I rode with him. We had a pleasant conversation until reaching his plantation at three o'clock. Here I found the most beautiful order in the house-keeping⁴¹ and among the Negroes, of whom several were honestly

³⁹ Col. John Bee, Sr. See Walter B. Edgar and N. Louise Bailey, eds., *Biographical Dictionary of the South Carolina House of Representatives* (Columbia, 1974), Vol. II, pp. 68-69.

⁴⁰ The Moravians, a cenobitic sect in Savannah, were greatly feared and detested by orthodox Lutherans like Boltzius.

⁴¹ By *Haushalt* and *Haushaltung*, Boltzius meant the entire economy of a household, especially the agriculture.

converted to God. They love their master and mistress so well that they do not desire freedom and show great loyalty in their work. Although the people in the land say that his Negroes do nothing but pray and sing and thereby neglect their work, this calumny is clearly contradicted by the very great blessing that he has just had in his fields. He and his Negroes are experiencing the truth of the words of Christ, "But seek ye first the kingdom of God," etc. Among the Negroes of both sexes there are many on his and the neighboring plantations who are awakened to seek their salvation with prayer and supplication, and there are some who are honestly converted and who lead a godly life. He told me of some very special cases of the work of God among them, and he promised me to write down some and send them to me. In this region there are some heartily pious planters who superintend their houses and Negroes well.

WEDNESDAY, THE 27TH OF OCTOBER

After we had been refreshed in our souls with prayer and God's word and in our bodies with healthy food and drink, we set out on our way after eight o'clock. Seven miles from Mr. Bryan's house there is a creek, Cutchy hatchy,⁴² which, together with the surrounding swamp, is very difficult to pass. Also one must be there at the right time, when it is ebb tide, or else one must sit there idly for at least twelve hours or not be able to get across. The water in this creek flows more swiftly than in almost any river. Mr. Bryan was so kind as to travel to it with me, and he lent me a skilled Negro who readied and somewhat tamed a previously unriden horse that belongs to us and has been here for some time. After we had been brought safely over the swamps and river, we took cordial leave. Shortly beforehand he had communicated to me in writing the last words of his brother's dying wife, in which I find much that is edifying and important. In other people's eyes she was a good Christian from childhood on; she also read much and used the means to salvation diligently. But it was only six months before her death that she discovered her false self-justification and converted herself honestly to Jesus; and she died with joy.⁴³ I

⁴² Coosawhatchie.

⁴³ See note 22.

shall place her last words here, perhaps they will also be edifying for other people.⁴⁴

From Charleston to here we have had good and well laid roads, which, however, are said to be very bad in winter or when there is much rain. But here this road ended. We came to a dangerous swamp, where I could have had a great misfortune if our heavenly Father had not averted it. Kalcher had the horse that was not yet used to being ridden, and he had to lead it through the swamp at first with much effort. Afterwards it got so tired on the way and so daunted that he had to drive it before him and still could not make it move. Therefore, because night was overtaking us, we had to remain in the forest. We happened to find an old Indian hut that was covered with tree bark. Here we made a fire, and I lay myself to sleep in a large piece of bark that looked like a canoe; and I had my saddle at my head and slept as softly as Jacob on his stone at Bethel. It had not rained for a long time, so there was no water to be found; yet God helped us through, for it began to rain and our thirst disappeared entirely in our sleep. We read the 6th Psalm and prayed for ourselves and others.

THURSDAY, THE 28TH OF OCTOBER

This morning we tried to continue our way with the new horse; but it did not wish to be ridden, and Kalcher had to drive it before him on a line. We came to a cypress swamp where the cattle had made many paths, and here we got lost. Because of the rain clouds we could not see the sun, by which we wished to guide ourselves; yet the Lord helped us out unexpectedly. Finally we came into the vicinity of Fort Palachocolas, but first we had to pass through a very large meadow that they call a savanna; and, because many cattle and horses go here too, there were many paths and we did not know what to do. The rain overtook us. Finally in

⁴⁴ Urlsperger relegated Hugh Bryan's account of his wife Catherine's last words to a footnote. She died on 7 October 1740. Present were her sister Mrs. Stephens, Stephens, Bull, her brother Reeve, and Mrs. Lewin (Lewis?). In a violent article in the *South-Carolina Gazette*, apparently masterminded by George Whitefield, Hugh Bryan explained the many disasters such as the small-pox epidemic, the Stono Rebellion, the failure of the siege of St. Augustine, and the great fire of 1740 as a punishment of God. According to Edward McCrady (*The History of South Carolina under the Royal Government 1719-1776* [New York, 1899], II, p. 238), Whitefield had obtained "a complete ascendancy" over Hugh Bryan and his wife. Soon thereafter Bryan showed signs of religious insanity.

the distance we saw a fence to which we went and found a house where there was a man we knew with six Negroes. Here we dried ourselves and enjoyed something warm and journeyed to the fort toward evening. Near the fort was an inn, which has an evil reputation like others in the land; therefore I remained in the fort and was entertained kindly by the captain, who did all he could. Otherwise everything here is very disorderly, but in my presence it was all respectable.

FRIDAY, THE 29TH OF OCTOBER

After the weather had cleared up, I departed from here at about nine o'clock. There is a ferry here on which people and horses can be carried across the Savannah River very conveniently. During our trip we crossed three ferries, namely, Ashley Ferry, Cambifarri,⁴⁵ and here at Palachocolas. In addition we crossed other rivers and bridges, namely, Wadpu, Ponpoh, and Aschepu, which are all Indian names.⁴⁶ We had hardly been ferried over this river before we had to pass through a thick canebrake, which is very low and usually full of water. Many people have already lost their health and lives here; and it is especially hard to get out of it, for this is the only way to bring cattle and horses from Carolina to Georgia. It was now rather dry, yet there were still very deep waterholes and mudholes so that I could not have gotten through by myself. This evil forest is two English miles wide before one reaches high land.

We did not look far enough ahead, and thus we got on the path to Montplaisant instead of heading toward Old Ebenezer. This Montplaisant⁴⁷ is a fort on the Savannah River and deserves the name, for the bluffs on the river are exceedingly pleasant. Here is Old Ucheetown, where the Uchee Indians used to live. Most of them have been exterminated, and the few survivors have moved further toward Savannah Town and St. Augustine. Here we ate our mid-day meal, and we took a man with us to show us the right way. The captain in Fort Palachocolas had lent me a horse for Kalcher so that we were able to reach Old Ebenezer and finally arrived at home at seven o'clock. Our boat with the purchased items had

⁴⁵ Combahee Ferry.

⁴⁶ Wappo, Ponpon, Ashepoo.

⁴⁷ Mount Pleasant. Boltzius may have used the French form as being more intelligible for his German readers, many of whom understood French but not English.

arrived safely yesterday morning and had brought the news that I was returning to Ebenezer by land. I found my dear colleague and his family and mine strengthened in body and soul and could tell them, God be praised, that I have not been so steadily healthy for a long time as on this water and land journey. God hath done it, and may He be praised and lauded for it now and in eternity. Amen.

Thus far goes the travel diary of Pastor Boltzius to and from Charleston.